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ABSTRACT

The sociological study examines behavior and consciousness of West German youth with emphasis on their political views, voting behavior, leisure activities, and spending patterns. The paper is presented in 14 sections. Section I traces political development of youth from the post World War II skepticism to current political activism. In section II, political youth organizations are broadly characterized, followed by identification of political youth groups in section III. In sections IV and V, performance pressure, unemployment, and the popularity of standard occupations are discussed. Political attitudes are characterized in sections VI-IX as acceptance of political change, faith in democracy, hope for peace, and preference for a capitalist economic system over a socialist one. Section X describes travel as the favorite pastime of German youth. Section XI identifies needed reforms in the educational system, followed by a description of female student and worker problems in section XII and a survey of students from working class families in section XIII. Leisure time activity is discussed in the last section. In summary, young people in West Germany are characterized as personally committed to a society which is seeking new and fairer ways of human coexistence. (Author/DB)

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Young People in the Federal Republic of Germany

by Marlene Forsbach

So 010 015

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Contents

From scepticism to protest	3
The "System Be[illegible]s' and pragmatists	4
Aims of political youth groups	5
Performance pressure and unemployment	7
'Standard occupations' are still extremely popular	8
Political change and bitter experience	9
Notwithstanding: faith in democracy	10
Safety and peace as flank protection	11
Capitalism ranks higher than socialism	12
Travelling gives the greatest pleasure	14
Reforms in the education system urgently needed	17
Girls given poorer training	19
More students from working-class families	20
Off for the weekend in a 'jaloppy'	20

(INP). It is not far-fetched to assert that never in recorded history has there been a period when the political and economic elite of a country has not given thought to the behaviour and consciousness of its youth.

In the highly industrialised countries of the Western world, as well as those of the East Bloc, efforts in this direction are part of the standard programme of social scientific institutes. In the field of empirical social research, in particular, methods are available for gaining well-founded information on conditions and processes of change within the industrialised society.

The image of youth in the Federal Republic is often distorted by extreme reporting. Accounts are given of narcotics addiction, alcoholism among the young, student unrest and discontent among apprentices. Admittedly, these are all manifestations not unknown in the Federal Republic. However, the drug wave - apparent in all western industrialised countries at one time, has ebbed; only 0.4 percent of young people in the Federal Republic are "hardcore" drug addicts. Decisive contributions in this field have been made, inter alia, by campaigns organised by private and state organisations, in addition to schools. The Federal Government and Federal States alone have so far raised over 25 million DM to help combat the abuse of drugs and narcotics. In May 1975, the Federal Government and Federal States passed a joint "Programme of Action for the Protection and Control of Alcoholism in the Young", which, among other things, envisages systematic help for those at risk. The majority of young people, however, avoid the excessive consumption of narcotics and alcohol.

This also applies to unrest at the universities. The student committees, often communist infiltrated, are recruited from a small group of extreme students. Only a few of those young people who, protected by the state guaranteed right to demonstrate and free speech, seek to bring about the downfall of the democratic basic order of the Federal Republic of Germany. Most young Germans dissociate themselves from this attitude: one is interested in politics, but not violent.

When, in the Federal Republic of Germany, talk centres on young people, it is possible to differentiate between various groups. Firstly,

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there are boys and girls who attend a grammar school (Gymnasium) and subsequently follow a course of study at an institute of higher education. Today, they account for 18 to 20 percent of a year group. In addition circa 70 percent of this year group receive vocational training and ten percent receive no form of training at all ie they are young unskilled male workers and, above all, female workers who now number 200,000.

Although regardless of their origins and vocational demands all young people have similar problems, the social differences are too great, experience too different and political convictions too varied to speak of the youth. For this reason, the minority of Higher School Certificate holders (Abiturienten) and students are not representative. As they - and particularly their politically committed representatives - usually know how best to articulate their wishes and aims, they often present themselves as the picture of young people in general in the consciousness of the public as a whole.

Just how varied the socialisation influences are is already demonstrated by the fact that the young people grow up in small family units at different social levels, and on the other hand - and parallel to this - are "reared" in the major organisations of school, factory, office, armed forces, university and others.

Today, the main interest of youth sociology lies in examining and portraying the political views of young citizens, the way they vote, the understanding of democracy at certain levels, and also conducting research into how they spend their free time and their behaviour as consumers. The importance of statistics, data and facts gained on the basis of large-scale opinion polls and qualified analysis, soon becomes clear when one thinks of the important role they play in the formulation of socio-political goals. The evaluations help the politicians to reach decisions, they help educationalists to "reach" young people by providing them with information on the needs of pupils and apprentices and explanations for their reactions. The economy also profits from the findings as it is able to suit its products - or at least some of them - to the wishes of the teenager purchaser market, just as, on the other hand, it awakens and directs non existent needs.

A few basic facts permit a better understanding of the background of the times: it can certainly be said that, generally speaking, with the group of 16 to 25-year olds in the Federal Republic of Germany,

a generation has grown up and experiences the present, as never before in the history of Germany in the 19th and 20th centuries, and "backed up" by prosperity unknown to the war year groups, without their processes of development being regimented by a dictator, a political leader, omnipotent parties or even "mere" economic want. Admittedly, the fact that despite these apparently optimum conditions which exist in a free constitutional state young people have quite objectively no less a burden of problems to bear and are trying to find their place between rejection and adaption, is also part of the political present.

From scepticism to protest

As long ago as the Fifties, the German sociologist Schelsky, spoke of the "sceptical generation" which, due to their experiences during the period of National Socialist domination, were characterised by a "de-politisation and de-ideologisation" of their consciousness. No-one then could have prophesized the change from a "youth without commitment" to a critical youth, to a protesting youth. When, in the university sphere overdue, overdiscussed reforms gave rise to action of various kinds, in the train of growing politisation of consciousness, the protest movement formed into a nucleus group which severely criticised the socio-political importance of decisions made by the Government and Parliament. Armaments and the Federal Armed Forces, the Emergency Laws, designed to guarantee the internal and external security of the Federal Republic in times of crisis, the Grand Coalition between the CDU/CSU* and the SPD‡ between 1966 and 1969, the "opinion-forming press" of the Springer newspaper concerns, international involvement in view of the Vietnam war, as well as policies adopted towards the countries of the Third World, formed the heart of the protests.

A great deal of thought has been given to this time and a great deal written about the conditions then existing so that it is only necessary here to give a brief sketch of the conditions on which they were based. Both the public and the politicians were equally surprised and dismayed at the outcome of the conflict. The democratic parties saw their concept of having drawn closer to the goal of a free and social constitutional state questioned, sometimes even by protesting related youth organisations.

Professor Sontheimer, well-known political scientist, summarises in retrospect, as follows, the escalation of the conflict up to the éclat

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* Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union
‡ German Socialist Party

which demanded bloody sacrifices on both sides: "Student opposition only grew as a reaction to the authoritarian way in which the established power groups in the Federal Republic of Germany defended their property and order against calls for democratisation... The experience of their own powerlessness in the face of established power, of democratically doubtful conditions drove them (the students) to ever new acts of direct provocation." Whatever one may feel about Professor Sontheimer's views - they do not explain the division of the protests into one direction of pragmatic reformism and another of extreme radicalism. The names Baader and Meinhof stand for the latter case and can also be described as radical extremists who, using the urban guerillas of Latin America as their example, wanted to heat up the political climate in the Federal Republic to revolution pitch - an undertaking which not only demonstrated a lack of political judgement and bore psychopathic characteristics, but also was directed against a state which, despite certain minor shortcomings, offers a large measure of living conditions worthy of human beings.

"System beaters" and pragmatists

Observers of the current scene, which is characterised by generally small student groups more or less firmly organised which by means of non parliamentary protest present their concepts of an ideal society mainly by means of "sit-ins", breaking up lectures, and producing leaflets on duplicating machines, are presented with a picture of ideological disagreement. Trotzkyists and Maoists, Marxists and Leninists, adherents of the German Communist Party and the Communist Party of Germany, Stalinists and advocates of reformed communism of the Dubcek era in Czechoslovakia. These, to name only a few, are struggling for supremacy. These, in broad terms, are the conditions existing on the one hand where, it is believed, only by overcoming the system can the way be opened up to a humane society - whatever that may mean. There is little echo among the "silent majority" of students.

The reaction of the other side is most accurately described by the phrase "constructively critical"; this attitude prevails mainly in political party youth organisations and trade union youth groups. They ascribe to the Basic Law and their views on reforms are always directed towards finding pragmatic solutions to the causes of unrest. It almost goes without saying that their "solo flights" do not always

meet with the approval of their "mother parties". The sociologist, Jaide, summarises the main reasons for this unrest as follows:

1. Promises not kept by the adult generation
2. A lack of concepts for the future
3. Under-representation of young people in society

As unkept promises he sees the following:

a. the creation of a genuine democracy
b. the creation of free, ideological pluralism and
c. the creation of social equality of opportunity for all

He adds that the fulfilment of these aims requires no "new-fangled, Utopian, extreme programmes, but only the keeping of promises proclaimed by the Federal Republic since its inception in, among other things, the Basic Law". And he asks: "Has social equality of opportunity really been realised for all young people, regardless of their familial and social origins? Or to what extent do politics sidestep or even contradict such principles?

Aims of political youth groups

Despite all differences both in the ideological field and in the assessment of individual focal points of reform, all youth organisations attached to the political parties represented in the Bundestag acknowledge that a free constitutional basic order in the Federal Republic is to be self-assessment, motor and conscience in one for the parties who tend to revere pragmatism in political day-to-day matters.

Over and above this, they also have the following main functions in common:

1. Organisational registration and activation of younger party members
2. Collecting point for politically interested young citizens who are not members of a party
3. Recruitment of members and support for their own organisation - in the case of younger voters - and for the party in the case of older ones.
4. Emergence of political leaders to replace party and state politicians
5. Career basis for the representatives of younger members
6. Initiators of political innovations and ideas

To begin with the largest organisations. All members of the SPD under the age of 35 are automatically members of the Working Group of Young Socialists. They number circa 370,000 at present, only about 10 percent of whom are, admittedly, politically active. Nevertheless, they represent a formidable 25 percent of all party members who can be regarded as politically active. In addition to the organisational guidelines which meet the requirements of practical support for the party, strong groups of "Jusos" (Young Socialists) by no means advocate the projected aims of the SPD.

Their programme of democratic socialism includes, for example, a tax reform designed to extract "monies from private investors, in order to permit greater expansion of state expenditure." Further, the demand is made for an anti-concentration policy with a ban on cartels, control of abuses by concerns dominating the market aimed at changing anti-social accumulation of assets, in addition to non-works profit-sharing, further, a codetermination concept which sees itself as a "means of securing greater power for employees."

The Young Union, with circa 190,000 members, is the youth organisation of the CDU/CSU; joining the party is not a precondition for membership. The maximum age of 35 can be extended in the case of an office-holder until his period of office expires.

According to the Young Union's own view of itself, it wants to provide the younger generation with answers to questions concerning the bases and aims of Christian-Social policy. Although individual items in the Young Union's programme, verbally at least, do not appear to differ greatly from those made by the Young Socialists, the whole catalogue of aims is, however, differently accentuated. The rejection of "reforms designed to overcome the system", the acknowledgement of the social market economy and free competition are fixed political points in their programme.

Separate membership of the FDP* also applies to the Young Democrats. They number around 27,000 and members may remain so until the age of 35. The Young Democrats, whose political views have clearly drawn closer to those of the Young Socialists, favour a social order borne by a social spirit and simultaneously a changed attitude to property, codetermination and socialisation as compared with traditional liberalism as it is still understood in broad areas of the party today. The Young Democrats no longer regard socialism as the antipole to liberalism but rather as a part of it.

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* Free Democratic Party

(6)

Performance pressure and unemployment

The 8th German Bundestag elections held on 3 October 1976 resulted in a confirmation - although an extremely narrow one - of the social-liberal alliance between SPD and FDP. 3.3 million young people voting for the first time (who after the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 in the election year 1972, together with the 4.8 million new voters, represented a considerable election potential - namely around 20 percent of all Federal citizens entitled to vote). The Government's youth policy in the coming legislative period will also decide on the vocational and personal future of this group of young people aged between 18 and 25. A great deal will still depend, even for the future of the Federal Republic itself, on the solution of different questions in the problem areas of school, university and world of work: in the not too distant future a considerable burden of responsibility will rest on the shoulders of these year groups for the functioning of society, the economy and the state. As before, school and university reform, the reform of vocational training, the overcoming of unemployment among young people continue to enjoy top priority.

In addition to structurally determined unemployment, a further negative fact is that the 'birth bulge' year groups are flocking to training places. The attempt at a fair distribution or one even remotely corresponding with principles of equality of opportunity is thus made considerably more difficult. The economy is in course of a qualitative restructuring process. It is making increasing use of high quality technologies which, in turn, require higher quality qualifications. This at the same time means higher demands on the quality of training, retraining and further training measures in working life. About 11 percent of people entitled to vote up to 25 years of age are directly affected by these conditions. However, not only this group, but also an almost equally large number of young people who are still preparing themselves for working life at school. The immediate effect of poorer future prospects is stronger competitive pressure in schools.

There are just as many hurdles on the path to professional life facing young people who want to pursue an academic career: the numerus clausus at universities - the reduced number of admissions of Higher School Certificate holders to individual study areas to avoid overcrowding in certain restricted zones - favours those pupils with the best leaving certificates or average marks. The result is that many

(7)

students, if they wish to study at all, have no choice but to choose a subject for which places are still available but which is not really to their choice or in keeping with their abilities.

The latest figures from the Federal Labour Institute help to round off the picture of the current situation: at 6 percent, the highest unemployment figure was for the 20 to 25-year olds, followed by the 25-30-year olds at 5.3 percent and the two groups over 55-years of age with 5.1 and 5.2 percent respectively. Of the 102,600 unemployed young people (under 20) at the end of September 1976, 22.4 percent had still never been employed: 77.6 percent had been employed once - usually for a short period. The number of unemployed young people who had not been employed was, at a total of 5.3 percent, higher than in September 1975.

'Standard occupations' are still extremely popular

As far as the popularity of individual occupations is concerned, there were no differences worth mentioning compared with previous years. Despite structural changes, the 'standard occupations' appear to continue to be particularly attractive to those starting work. Of all would-be trainees in 1975 almost every fourth (23.8 percent or 316,200) wanted a training place in the metal processing industry (fitter, mechanic etc). Every seventh (14.4 percent or 191,200) chose the occupation of commercial salesman, almost as many received training in organisational, administrative or office jobs; a good 10 percent (138,800) wanted to become electricians. In fifth or sixth place (4.5 percent or 60,300 and 4 percent or 53,900 respectively) salespeople in service organisations and jobs connected with the food industry. Conclusion: Accordingly, almost two-thirds of all would-be trainees want to be employed in only four occupational sectors.

The question arises as to how, in view of the situation described, the behaviour of young citizens has developed in everyday life and what repercussions can be established particularly in connection with their attitude to democracy. There are many facets to the picture but allow certain basic tendencies to be defined. A major West German regional newspaper published an article on this subject and headed: "Young people's goal: happy family with children" with the following main sentence. "Today's youth could be more readily described as timid than ready to demonstrate. They are looking for a way of

climbing to the top and try not to be conspicuous."

In this article the paper used as its basis statements made by the Professor of Vocational Pedagogics at Bochum University, Stratmann, who had referred to this in a bases lecture. Stratmann established that using this as a basis, young people of today appeared to differ markedly from those of the past. They would not allow themselves to be categorised politically as being either left or right. Older young people who were already in safe jobs occasionally ridiculed the younger ones for being "creeps" or feared them as "streamlined careerists". According to Stratmann, there has been a considerable increase in acceptance of the present state, of the older generation and upbringing in their own homes. Over and above this, young people are identifying themselves to a greater degree with the world of work which means that they are thinking about the security of their future. When asked what their aim in life was, 46 percent of those questioned answered: "A happy family".

Political change and bitter experience

Naturally, the description given here is by no means complete: by leaving certain things unmentioned it also distorts the proportions. Let us therefore return to the election of 1972. Generally, the attitude of young people had grown strongly closer to the SPD, a trend which in these elections found a resounding echo due to the lowering of the voting age to 18. After this election it appeared that with their former Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, the SPD had won the support of German youth for their "reform package".

However, at the elections for the German State Legislatures in 1974 to 1976 the euphoric atmosphere which had heralded the Bundestag election of 1972 under the slogan "Accept the challenge of greater democracy", appeared to have given way to a more matter of fact frame of mind. Despite the passing of considerable reform legislation presented by the new Government, which was to have long-term influence on sociopolitical development, the economic signs of crisis which had arisen as a result of the international recession dominated the overall picture and noticeably weakened faith in the Government which was also demonstrated by the falling tendency of the sympathy graph line for the SPD.

The formula of "lifelong learning" which had been used by progressive education politicians of the Coalition in order to describe certain

demands arising as a result of changed working conditions in a highly industrialised society (which means that no-one can expect anymore to earn a living all his life in an occupation for which he was once trained) must have seemed ironic to those who had had different experience at work. The experience of inadequate codetermination opportunities at school, the establishment of learning contents in schools and vocational training by outside parties, the daily experience of powerlessness in the face of anonymous burocracies, the daily determination of work content and processes at work by outside parties, the ever recurring experience of being at the mercy of cyclical fluctuations, manipulation by the mass media and advertising, land speculation and faulty communal planning - all this had put in question the process of "lifelong learning".

However, anyone who had expected that young people stimulated in this way would form the spearhead of a new protest movement which others would flock to join, had reckoned without the "streamlined" majority. Empirical examinations reveal quite clearly that political and social norm concepts are more strongly determined among young people by liberal, egalitarian and democratic views than in former generations. It is therefore hardly surprising to learn that the 14-17 year olds, almost all of whom still live with their parents, have somewhat less progressive attitudes than the older year groups. This was mentioned recently in the weekly publication 'Das Parlament' in an enquiry into future perspectives of young people. The emancipation of younger people from the values of their parents has apparantly created a specific norm concept which they will probably retain in later life.

If we continue our study of the publication we learn from the details that the majority of young people abhor severe upbringing today although the whole population recognises a valid principle in regard to upbringing, as has always been the case.

Notwithstanding: faith in democracy

Surveys conducted by the Institute for Applied Social Sciences (Infas) reveal plainly: the political mood among young people at present cannot be called either critical-oppositional or excessively well-disposed commitment to the state. All in all, however, the findings indicate firm faith in the political system. This picture is also overshadowed by the fear of unemployment. Admittedly, if thought is given to the lifelong perspectives young people attach to vocational

training it is not impossible that dashed hopes in this field have repercussions on voting behaviour. However stable the political behaviour patterns of young people may appear, the leeway for fluctuations and changes of behaviour is greater than in the case of older voters. Only every fourth young voter describes himself as a convinced party supporter; in contrast, in these young people's homes, every second person is committed to a party. Therefore, the uncertainty as to how one will fare in life can be reflected in the ballot slip.

The weekly journal summarised its findings as follows: "Young voters are neither conservative nor have they been radicalised by political developments. They are now more likely to have reservations about political parties. The first vote ever made is merely a step along the road to political identity and thus no party can monopolise the votes of the younger generation."

Safety and peace as flank protection

Professor Jaide, the well-known youth psychologist who has for many years concerned himself with youth sociological matters, added an important note to these statements. He confirmed that political problems in the narrow sense do not head the list of young people's areas of interest but rather personal development and satisfaction with school, family, freetime and circle of friends. Political aims - particularly security and peace both at home and abroad - are simultaneously assessed as flank protection. This shows that, among other things, an attitude of reservation and satiation is growing towards strong or even extreme politisation of young people such as is still taking place in small minorities. The fact that in the consciousness of most young people there is no particular need for this is shown by the high rate of basic acceptance of school, occupation and work, as well as the economic system, despite the shortcomings described above which must be radically combatted but which, however, are only considered intolerable by specifically sensitive young people. Although the satisfaction, as Jaide calls the approving attitude, in his view requires cautious interpretation on several levels, it cannot however be dismissed as a change of opinion based on ignorance, disinterest or alienation. The group of satisfied people is, as already mentioned, faced by various minorities of dissatisfied people and the sceptical "peevish" ones as well as the "system changers", the latter being composed mainly of pupils and students. Not before 1982 is the number of school-leavers likely to drop and subsequently

apprentices are likely to be at a premium. It is therefore both a humane and economic requirement to provide a suitable course of vocational training for all young people. Wide branches of the economy appear to have realised this already. The number of training courses commenced in 1974 fell by almost 16,000; in 1975 a further 5,400 training contracts were entered into. Politicians now want to improve the statutory preconditions to promote and accelerate this trend.

Capitalism ranks higher than socialism

The German branch of the Shell mineral oil company runs its own youth foundation which has made a name for itself by commissioning the registration of empirical data in the field of youth research by social scientific institutes and the publication of their findings. This data confirms what had previously generally been assumed. The clear answer to the question: "If you had a free choice, would you prefer to live in a capitalist or in a socialist economic system?" was not given by only 18 percent of those representatively questioned. 63 percent chose the capitalist system as being, in their view, more capable of development. A qualified minority of 19 percent remained which would prefer to live in a socialist economic system.

The preference for a capitalist economic system - this was revealed by a question which was based solely on the main reason for the decision reached - was based almost exclusively on greater personal freedom and a higher standard of living.

Why they prefer to live in a capitalist economic system:

(Multiple answer)	Representative cross-section	Group of potential leaders
Because there the individual has more freedom	83 percent	88 percent
Because there one is better off economically	69 percent	65 percent
Because there I can develop better politically	47 percent	55 percent
Because there everyone who accomplishes a great deal earns a great deal	47 percent	42 percent
Because there are better opportunities of advancement	47 percent	41 percent
Because there jobs are safer	16 percent	8 percent

Source: Institute for Youth Research (IJF)

The small group of advocates of the socialist system was, the Institute of Youth Research found, composed in a much more heterogenous manner. The one believes in better human relationships, the other hopes he will not "be exploited" there, and a third pins his hopes on the power which allegedly emanates solely from the people. The main factor which crystallised from the question as to the decisive reason for the positive assessment of the socialist system was, in contrast, belief in a fairer distribution of income.

Why they would rather live in a socialist economic system:

(Multiple answers)	Representative cross-section	Group of potential leaders
Because there the distribution of income is fairer	64 percent	84 percent
Because there one is not exploited	49 percent	64 percent
Because there the individual has more freedom	33 percent	36 percent
Because there all power emanates from the people	32 percent	51 percent
Because there everyone who accomplishes a great deal earns a great deal	31 percent	21 percent
Because there people get on better with each other	30 percent	37 percent

The most important conclusions that can be drawn from these tables are as follows:

In the view of the persons questioned, accomplishment is demanded by both economic and social systems. Gainfully employed supporters of the socialist system who have an average education nominate in particular - in addition to the more just distribution of income - the better chances of advancement and the greater recognition accorded to professional accomplishment.

In Table 1, 18 percent were unable to decide which system they would prefer to live under. In regard to the question as to which system they thought would assert itself in the future, on the other hand, only three percent were unable to make a definitive statement. The "prognosis" of those questioned was clear and rated capitalism (which was defined by the majority of the persons questioned as a

market economy) as more able to assert itself. (71 percent).

All in all, at the present time there is a clear predominance of basically positive opinion in favour of the economic and social system of the West in general and of the Federal Republic in particular. However, this situation must not be evaluated in general terms as "adapting oneself" as Jaide has done in the preceding differentiation. Whether the radicalisation did not occur in spite of or because of the crisis manifestations and whether we have seen the last of protests or are experiencing the lull before the storm - these are things on which the sociologists disagree.

Travelling gives the greatest pleasure

The following deals with some series of questions closely related to the everyday life of German young persons, which do not have anything to do directly with their political views, even though, here too, there are close connections. It concerns the needs, problems and questions that arise in school, at work, when engaged in sport or leisure activities and the effects that are closely connected therewith.

The following two tables show just how broad the field of factors affecting the individual personally can be:

Table 1: The greatest pleasure during the course of the year

Question: What gave you most pleasure during the course of the past year? - Answer unrestrictedly -

	Total average in percentages
Travel	26
Celebrations and social events in company	6
Personal success in one's profession	11
Personal success at school/university	8
Personal success in other spheres	5
Acquisitions, presents	8
Gains	1
Material Possessions	4
In the sphere of general human and religious activities	2
Love, friendship, comradeship	5
Health, own and family	3
Offspring	3
Other people's happiness and success	3
Miscellaneous	3

No reply	12
	100
Number	1,505

Table 2: Causes of annoyance and trouble

Question: And what are the things about which you have been most annoyed or troubled? - Answer unrestrictedly -

	Total average in percentages
Weather	3
Trouble at work or at school	19
Annoyance about other people, being put upon, quarrels	14
Sickness, accidents	5
Worries, disappointments	3
Financial troubles and failures	4
Occupational and scholastic failures	8
Sporting failures	1
Trouble with car or moped	3
Call up for service with the armed forces	2
Lost articles	1
Political or economic events	5
Other people's failures	1
Other annoyances	2
Not annoyed or troubled	11
No reply	18
	100
Number	1,505

A few months ago (Autumn 1976) a major German illustrated magazine commissioned an opinion research institute to conduct a representative opinion poll and, on the basis of the collected data, was in a position to offer a form of behaviour kaleidoscope.

The following questions with answers quoted in percentages give a good insight into the themes covered: aim in life, work, mental strain, money and time.

Question: How do you feel about your work - is it primarily a heavy burden, a necessary evil, a way of earning money, satisfying activity or the fulfillment of a commitment?

(15)

	Total	Main School (Haupt-schule) leaving certificate and vocational training	University education
	(in percentages)		
Heavy burden	2	2	3
Necessary evil	17	17	14
Way of earning money	32	41	15
Satisfying activity	26	25	39
Fulfillment of commitment	22	18	31
No reply	5	2	1

Question: What pressure do you feel there is to achieve results at school or in your job - very great, definite, average, little, or none at all?

	Total	Main School (Haupt-schule) leaving certificate and vocational training	University education
	(in percentages)		
Very great	21	12	32
Definite	35	31	39
Average	31	39	23
Little	9	13	4
None at all	3	5	1
No reply	0	0	0

Question: What would you do if you unexpectedly had two hours to spare during the day?

	(in percentages)
Visit boy or girlfriend	20
Go for a stroll	16
Listen to music	13
Play sport	10
Read a book	8
Make love	5
Sleep	5
Play a musical instrument	4
Go and have a drink	4
Handicraft	4
Watch television	3
Painting or drawing	2

Visit a museum or exhibition	2
No reply	3

The replies give a total of more than 100 percent because the persons questioned were able to name several possibilities on a list shown to them.

Question: What would you like to have achieved by the time you are 40?

	Total	Boys
	(in percentages)	
I would like to have a happy family and children	46	36
I would like to have a happy married life without children	7	5
I would like to achieve success in a profession I like	24	27
I would like to be able to afford expensive things	17	22
I would like to be able to retire at 40 and only do the things I would like	12	16
No reply	0	0

The replies give a total of more than 100 percent because the persons questioned were able to name several possibilities on a list shown to them.

Source: Emnid, 1976; representative cross-section of citizens of the Federal Republic (1,000) between 14 and 24-years old.

The basic satisfaction with their daily life of most of the persons questioned which could be established when evaluating the charts cannot hide the grave problems of the minority whose relationship to their environment is disturbed by influences of the most varied kinds.

The question of the blame for the development depicted cannot be gone into here and appears, moreover, not to be very productive unless discussed in conjunction with reform measures that could at least promise relief. There is thus still more to be added to the list of priorities for legislative measures concerning the theme reforms.

Reforms in the education system urgently needed

Those who criticise conditions because it appears to them that educational opportunities, although undoubtedly extended in recent years,

(17)

are still very inadequate, complain about the possibilities of admission to the better training places, even for 'gifted' children of working-class families, existing only on paper. In practice, however, actual access to these places is not ensured in many cases. They also consider the vocational training reform, which was implemented by a law that came into force two years ago, to be inadequate. Similarly, the concepts for the reform of the senior stage and delaying the introduction of the demanded integrated comprehensive school with a status above that of an experimental school meets with little acclaim. In this type of school, the present forms of Main School (Hauptschule), Grammar School (Gymnasium) and Secondary Modern School (Realschule) are to form an interconnected system which offers better promotion possibilities according to the talents of the individual pupil and thus ensures that school-leavers are qualified when their education is completed.

Finally, there is the new reform of institutes of higher education which has, it is true, been put through by the new framework law, but which in the view of the critics is similarly inadequate, particularly in regard to co-determination possibilities for students at universities. It was this point which was not the least important factor that sparked off previous student unrest and the theme is still a sensitive subject in discussions on higher education institute policy. This list is far from complete: It also includes protection of young persons at work, penal reform, humanisation of the world of work and much more besides. In this connection, it should be mentioned that, in the case of laws concerning schools and institutes of higher education designed to introduce uniform arrangements throughout the Federation, the Federal Government must coordinate matters with the Federal States (Länder) since, according to the Constitution, education is a subject for which the Federal States are responsible. In the government policy statement issued in December 1976, Federal Chancellor Schmidt complained about this, particularly in connection with the planned educational reforms: "We accept competition between the Federal States to bring about improvements in education. But many people do not understand that their children will suffer disadvantages at school and in the occupations because there are no uniform conditions in our country which apply to all the states; they do not understand that school-leaving certificates and diplomas from institutes of higher education are not always mutually recognised and they do not understand that compulsory schooling periods vary between the different states. There

(18)

is also a good deal wrong with the determination of vocational training content.

The legislature and the Federal State parliaments are now demanding increasing regulation of this by law instead of the very complicated practice of agreeing matters between the states which has been the custom hitherto. In view of the actual experience of parents and young people, it should be seriously examined whether and how the need for uniform living conditions throughout federal territory makes regulation of this via federal laws seem to be of significance. The Federal Government definitely advocates a strengthening of overall state responsibility for the structure of education in any event."

In the course of the Government statement, the Federal Chancellor announced that a report would be produced within a year on the structural defects of the education system, in which the Government would make proposals for changes in educational competences in favour of a more uniform arrangement. The Chancellor further advocated the strengthening of all measures intended to reduce the burden of current problems and referred in particular to overcoming unemployment among young people, improving the range of training places and doing away with the numerus clausus at universities.

The completion of a course of study does not automatically mean a right to better pay. Federal Chancellor Schmidt said on this subject: "We strongly advocate opening up the universities, but every young person must realise that completing a course of studies can certainly not be a guarantee that they will earn more than a skilled worker all their lives."

Girls given poorer training

Female emancipation is one of the individual aspects of the picture of youth as a whole and one can only say that this is "still in its infancy" in the Federal Republic - this was the conclusion of a report published recently of a committee of enquiry commissioned by the Federal German Bundestag. This body's report commented on, among other things, the situation of female workers and schoolgirls and established clearly that women are still paid less than men for the same work, that the number of women in managerial posts is still low, as in the past, that choice and exercise of profession are concentrated in relatively few occupations and branches of the economy and that the unemployment rate for women is higher than that for men. In politics, women account

for only about a fifth of the membership of the parties; in the German Bundestag the proportion of women is even lower, namely about 6 percent. Basically, it can be said that the position of women in society has, it is true, improved; it is accepted as a matter of course that they work and the number of women striving for responsible positions in politics and public life is on the increase but, now as before, there are still "natural" obstacles in the path of female emancipation. While men can, as a rule, combine successfully professional and political activity, and a political career generally helps their professional one, such a commitment on the part of women places an additional burden on them and tends rather to have negative effects on their marriage and job. Furthermore, the fact that girls still receive a poorer education at school and poorer vocational training than boys and thus do not have the prerequisites to occupy numerous senior posts also plays a role. The fact that some 70 percent of those young people who take up jobs after leaving school without any training are young females speaks for itself.

More students from working-class families

Another major group with relatively homogenous problems which go beyond those of a purely training nature, is the student body. According to a report just published by the German Student Foundation, students' living conditions have deteriorated considerably in recent years. A social survey of their economic situation showed that every eighth had debts and many had unsuccessfully looked for ways of earning additional money. The number of students whose course of study was financed wholly from public monies fell from 39 to 30 percent. Compared with the negative tendencies registered by the Student Foundation, there is a development regarded as favourable in the increased proportion of students from working-class families from 7 (1967) to 13 percent and as many as 28 percent at technical colleges. Two out of every 3 working-class children undergoing a course of study receive a grant in accordance with the Federal Training Promotion Act (BAföG) which enquiries had shown lay somewhat below the general minimum existence level. Here too the Government has in the meantime agreed to provide the Bundestag with details for improving the promotion.

Off for the weekend in a "jaloppy"

Last but not least, the picture of attitudes and behaviour patterns should be rounded off by an outline of young people's leisuretime (20)

activities. A few facts on this subject are given below which the sociologist Axel Werner has described in a study.

Firstly, it should be established that with the current slogans of "increasing freetime", "leisuretime society" and "leisuretime problems", the image of a new society is suggested whose main characteristic is freetime. The well-known historical comparisons of working hours lead one to do this. Estimates exist of the future quantitative development of leisuretime which, however, should only be accepted with reservations since they are not likely to be based on the development of working hours but rather variable factors such as overtime, journeys to work and shopping expeditions, vocational further training, increasing period of training, lowering retirement age, in addition to increased expectation of life which must be included in the calculations. In this connection, it is quite certain that technical progress results in increased leisuretime which, however, brings increased requirements in its train which one believes one needs to fill this freetime. One wants a higher income for this increased leisure and, for this reason, one often works in one's freetime for the freetime. Young people are no exception to this development.

Leisuretime when the day's work is done varies according to occupation between 3 to 5 hours in the everyday life of an adult; most young people do not have any more leisuretime; school and training, apart from young blue and white collar workers, demand more work than is often alleged.

Most of the freetime which is actually left to the young people they spend on weekdays at home, and young women - and to this extent this statement is relative - due to socially established prescribed roles, more often stay at home than young men. An empirical study on this subject revealed that apprentices are the least likely to be at home in the evening on working days: they earn their own money, have greater opportunities for making comparisons and experience independent of their families. Differences determined by social level still play a role: young people from working-class families become independent at an earlier age.

At the weekend, leisuretime is transferred "out-of-doors" to a greater degree, preferably to nearby recreation zones. The desire for a "jaloppy" is usually the greatest wish of older young people as its realisation is generally the precondition for spending the weekend "independently" in addition to their freetime. At this

point should be mentioned the type of social intercourse experienced via membership of a club. Despite the outstanding importance of club life, particularly the sports club, the closest contacts with friends are made at school, clubs/discotheques, etc and with neighbours.

The theatre, opera, ballet, concerts etc are attended relatively seldom by young people; older pupils are an exception to this rule due to their situation. In contrast, dance halls and similar establishments, youth clubs and discotheques are generally popular. This tendency declines somewhat with the over twenties as other interests come to the fore. Girls more often go dancing than boys, school pupils less frequently than apprentices or white collar workers. Pubs and cafes are generally less frequented than dance halls. Here too, typical differences determined by sex, age and occupation are apparent.

By way of summary it can be said that critical awareness, political interest and also personal commitment are characteristic of a large number of young people in the Federal Republic today. The fact should also be mentioned that every third young person between the ages of 14 and 25 belongs to a youth club, a political or student association or participates in international youth exchange measures which are promoted by numerous institutions. The participation by young people in promotion measures in the developing countries with pride of place going to the work of the German Development Service (DED) is visible commitment. Activities within the framework of the Sign of Atonement Campaign (Aktion Sühnezeichen), the World Peace Service or the organisations of the two major German churches are further examples of the personal commitment of young people in the Federal Republic - young people who feel themselves to be a part of a society which is seeking new and fairer ways of human coexistence.

(IN-Press)